

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 046262  
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S-DKEOGH:LFS  
APPROVED BY AF:WBEDMONDSON  
AF/S-DKPETTERSON  
S/S-O:SGOLDSMITH

-----122716 230028Z /13

O 222348Z FEB 78 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 046262

EXDIS, FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE AND RAY SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3,4

TAGS: PDEV, RH, US, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: TENDEKAI MUZOREWA VISIT TO WASHINGTON

SUMMARY: TENDEKAI MUZOREWA, BISHOP MUZOREWA'S SON, CALLED  
AT STATE DEPARTMENT 11:30 AM FEB. 22, AND MET WITH VERN  
JOHNSON AND DENNIS KEOGH. MUZOREWA'S PRINCIPLE OBJECTIVE  
SEEMED TO BE TO SEE IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE AN  
EARLY MEETING BETWEEN A SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL AND HIS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 046262

FATHER. HE ALSO ARGUED STRONGLY THAT IN THE END THE  
INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA WOULD MEET OBJECTIVE  
STANDARDS FOR A GENUINE TRANSFER TO MAJORITY RULE. MR.  
MUZOR:WA WILL COME TO EMBASSY LONDON AT 12 NOON, FEB. 23  
IN HOPES OF DISCUSSING WITH DICK MOOSE AND RAY SEITZ  
ARRANGEMENTS FOR MOOSE TO MEET WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA IN  
GABORONE OR BLANTYRE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.END SUMMARY.

1. MUZOREWA OPENED CONVERSATION BY STRESSING THAT UANC HAD ENTERED INTERNAL TALKS ONLY AFTER AGONIZING,DIFFICULT DECISION. ALTHOUGH THE BISHOP WAS PAINED AT DROPPING THE AAP, HE FELT HE HAD NO CHOICE SINCE THE BRITISH AMERICAN PLAN SEEM TO HAVE RUN AGROUND. MUZOREWA INSISTED THAT THE ALTERNATE ROUTE OF THE INTERNAL TALKS HAD RECEIVED A MANDATE OF AT LEAST 80 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE, AND THAT THE UANC HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED TO PARTICIPATE IN

THE TALKS BY GUERRILLAS INSIDE RHODESIA AS WELL. THEY BELIEVED THEY WERE ON THE RIGHT TRACK.

2. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY JOHNSON SAID THAT THE US HAD NOT TAKEN A FIXED, FINAL POSITION CONCERNING THE INTERNAL TALKS. HOWEVER BECAUSE WE HAD PUT SO MUCH THOUGHT AND STUDY INTO CONSTRUCTING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS, AND BECAUSE WE BELIEVED THEY MET THE CONCERNS OF THE PARTIES INVOLVED, THERE WAS SOME SENTIMENT THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO USE THEM TO MOVE THE SITUATION ALONG. WE HAD NOW PAUSED, UNTIL THE DUST SETTLES, TO SEE WHAT WE COULD DO. WE HAD A STRONG INTEREST IN A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION, BUT WE WANTED TO SEE WHAT COURSE OF ACTION WE COULD TAKE AT THIS POINT.

3. MUZOREWA, SUPPORTED BY HIS TWO COMPANIONS (GLEN E. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 046262

BILLINGTON, A CLEVELAND ATTORNEY, AND ALLEN WALTON, A CHEMISTRY PROFESSOR AT CASE WESTERN RESERVE IN CLEVELAND, RECENTLY RETURNED FROM RHODESIA) ARGUED THAT THE INTERNAL TALKS WOULD MEET THE STANDARDS SET FORTH IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR A GENUINE TRANSFER TO MAJORITY RULE. HE SAID THAT THE APPORTIONMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY SEATS BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES WOULD MEET THESE CRITERIA AS WELL. KEOGH POINTED OUT THAT THIS QUESTION HAD NOT BEEN SETTLED IN OUR MINDS, AS WE DID NOT KNOW PRECISELY WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED WITH REGARD TO PARLIAMENTARY SEATS AND OTHER CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES.

4. WALTON, WHO RECENTLY VISITED RHODESIA TO STUDY THE IMPACT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ON THE COUNTRY, INSISTED THAT MOST WHITES THERE COULD BE FAIRLY DESCRIBED AS MODERATES WHO WERE CONCERNED ABOUT INSTABILITY AND A CONTINUING NEED FOR CONSCRIPTION IN ORDER TO FIGHT THE WAR. MOST WERE WILLING TO REMAIN IN RHODESIA AND WORK FOR A PROSPEROUS ZIMBABWE, IF THE RIGHT PEOPLE CAME TO POWER IN A BLACK GOVERNMENT. HE INSISTED THAT MOST WHITES COULD SEE NO FUTURE FOR THEMSELVES IN A ZIMBABWE RUN BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. MUZOREWA ADDED THAT MOST

EDUCATED BLACKS WOULD ALSO LEAVE THE COUNTRY IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT CAME TO POWER.

5. JOHNSON POINTED OUT THE DANGER WE SAW THAT IF THE TERMS OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WERE NOT SUFFICIENTLY ATTRACTIVE TO THE GUERRILLAS, THEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD NOT FADE AWAY. RATHER, THEY WOULD STEP UP THE WAR, CALL FOR GREATER ASSISTANCE FROM THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS, AND THERE WOULD BE AN INCREASE IN VIOLENCE. MUZOREWA AND BILLINGTON INSISTED THAT IF THERE WERE A GENUINE

SETTLEMENT, THE GUERRILLAS WOULD NOT CONTINUE TO FIGHT AGAINST A MAJORITY RULE GOVERNMENT. MUZOREWA ADMITTED THAT NO SOLUTION CAN PREVENT A POST-INDEPENDENCE FIGHTING  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 046262

IN RHODESIA, BUT HE BELIEVED THAT UNDER A GENUINE SETTLEMENT IN WHICH THE UANC PARTICIPATED, THE DURATION OF SUCH FIGHTING WOULD BE SHORT, AS SUPPORT FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN THE RURAL AREAS AND AMONGST THEIR OWN RANK AND FILE WOULD DWINDLE. HE INSISTED THAT THE UANC CONTACTS WITH THE GUERRILLAS HAD ASSURED THEM THAT THEY WERE CORRECT IN THIS CONVICTION.

6. JOHNSON THEN ASKED WHAT BISHOP MUZOREWA WOULD LIKE THE US GOVERNMENT TO DO, IF HE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THAT REQUEST. MUZOREWA AND BILLINGTON QUICKLY ANSWERED THAT THE BISHOP WANTED TO MEET WITH A SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL. MUZOREWA SUGGESTED THAT THE BISHOP WOULD PREFER TO MEET PRIVATELY EITHER IN GABORONE OR IN MALAWI. IN MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH A MEETING, THE BISHOP WOULD LIKE TO HAVE SOME IDEA OF WHAT WAS TO BE ON THE AGENDA. HE WOULD WANT TO KNOW WHAT SUBSTANCE THE US WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS WITH HIM. MUZOREWA, WHO IS LEAVING TONIGHT (FEB. 22) FOR LONDON, SAID HE WOULD COME TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AT 12 NOON LONDON TIME, FEB. 23 TO MEET WITH MOOSE AND SEITZ TO DISCUSS ARRANGEMENTS FOR A MEETING. JOHNSON CAUTIONED HIM THAT A MOOSE MEETING WITH THE BISHOP COULD ONLY BE PART OF THE PROCESS OF TRYING TO DISCERN WHAT WE MIGHT DO IN THE FUTURE, BUT MUZOREWA SEEMED TO BE AGREEABLE TO A MEETING ON THOSE TERMS.

7. RETURNING TO WHAT THE US MIGHT DO, BILLINGTON AND WALTON URGED AMERICAN RECOGNITION OF A MAJORITY RULE GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD COME TO POWER THROUGH AN INTERNAL PROCESS. THEY AND MUZOREWA EXPRESSED LITTLE HOPE THAT THE BRITISH WOULD GO ALONG WITH SUCH A SETTLEMENT, STATING GREAT SUSPICION OF THE BRITISH.  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 046262

8. MUZOREWA EXPRESSED HIS FRUSTRATION WITH THE BRITISH WHOM HE SAID ALWAYS SEEM TO BE ONE STEP BEHIND THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN PUTTING FORTH THE GOVERNING COUNCIL CONCEPT AT MALTA, THE BRITISH HAD SIMPLY RETURNED TO SOMETHING THE UANC HAD SUGGESTED 18 MONTHS AGO IN GENEVA. MUZOREWA SAID HE HAD NO FAITH THAT ANYTHING COULD BE PUT INTO AN AGREEMENT WHICH COULD BRING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON BOARD. HE WONDERED ALOUD IF THE US COULD USE ITS INFLUENCE TO MOVE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TOWARDS THE INTERNAL TALKS, BUT THEN SEEMED TO REJECT THAT IDEA.

9. RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SITUATION IN PARLIAMENT, BILLINGTON INSISTED THAT THIS HAD BEEN AGREED BECAUSE IT WAS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL AS A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE FOR WHITES. MUZOREWA SAID THAT THE 28 WHITE; COULD ONLY VETO CHANGES IN THE ENTRENCHED CLAUSES IN THE CONSTITUTION, INCLUDING THE BILL OF RIGHTS, THE JUDICIARY, THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION, PENSIONS, AND DUAL NATIONALITY. IN RESPONSE TO JOHNSON'S QUESTION AS TO WHY THE BISHOP HAD AT FIRST HELD OUT SO STRONGLY AND THEN SUDDENLY AGREED TO THE 28, MUZOREWA SAID THAT THIS HAD HAPPENED BECAUSE SMITH HAD ACCIDENTALLY REVEALED THAT THE OTHER TWO BLACK PARTIES HAD ALREADY BEEN "BRIBED" INTO ACCEPTING THIS DISTRIBUTION. WHEN THIS HAD OCCURRED, THE BISHOP HAD ASKED HIS FOLLOWERS IF HE COULD AGREE, AND HAD RECEIVED A MANDATE TO DO SO. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM KEOGH, MUZOREWA WAS UNABLE TO CLARIFY THE ARRANGEMENTS UNDER WHICH THE 28 WHITES TO BE ELECTED BY THE COMMON ROLL VOTERS WOULD BE SELECTED. HE SAID THERE WERE TWO OPTIONS FOR THIS SELECTION STILL UNDER DISCUSSION, INCLUDING A WHITE PRIMARY.

10. MUZOREWA AND BILLINGTON ALSO URGED THAT THE USG  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 046262

SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO SALISBURY, WHO COULD REPORT FIRSTHAND ON INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS. JOHNSON POINTED OUT THAT THIS WAS UNLIKELY TO OCCUR UNTIL THERE WAS A MAJOR CHANGE IN THE SITUATION.

11. CONCLUDING THE MEETING, BILLINGTON ASKED IF IT WERE PREMATURE FOR THE UANC TO BEGIN TO CONTACT US OFFICIALS

FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR THE NEW ZIMBABWE. JOHNSON SAID HE THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE, AND THAT ANY US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR ZIMBABWE WOULD DEPEND ON FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS. HE ASKED BILLINGTON FOR HIS IDEAS ON THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF ZIMBABWE. BILLINGTON SAID HE THOUGHT THE POSSIBILITIES WERE GREAT BUT DID NOT ELABORATE.

12. THIS CABLE HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED BY VERN JOHNSON, WHO IS ILL AT HOME. WE ARE SENDING IT TO YOU UNCLEARED, SUBJECT TO REVISION. VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** VISITS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 feb 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE046262  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** DKEOGH:LFS  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X3  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780083-0009  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780226/aaaaavkv.tel  
**Line Count:** 235  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 7c7b9ed1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 27 apr 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3514616  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** RHODESIA: TENDEKAI MUZOREWA VISIT TO WASHINGTON SUMMARY: TENDEKAI MUZOREWA, BISHOP MUZOREWA'S SON, CALLED AT STATE DEPARTMENT 11:30 AM FEB. 22, AND MET WITH  
**TAGS:** PDEV, RH, US, UK, STATE, (MUZOREWA, TENDEKAI)  
**To:** LONDON  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/7c7b9ed1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014